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inclination for such communion are called *kái*, and their principal function is to cure and ward off disease. Of the *Pörekamekra*, Pohl writes:

Sie haben in den Pflanzen ihrer heimatlichen Wälder durch Erfahrung mehrere Heilkräuter kennen gelernt, welche sie nun bey vorkommenden Fällen anwenden. So vertreiben sie z. B. das Fieber mit einer *Dorstenia fol. rotundat.* Die Syphilis, welche leider häufiger vorkommt als man vermuten sollte, ... wird bloß mit häufigem Waschen behandelt. Ophthalmie zeigte sich auch sehr häufig; gegen dieses Uebel sowie gegen Schlangenbisse sollen sie auch Arcana besitzen. Zur Heilung von Wunden wird der gekaute (?) Samen der *Bixa brasiliensis* [= *urucú*] verwendet. Zauberkraft fehlen bei diesen abergläubischen Menschen natürlich ebenfalls nicht. Segensprechungen, Zaubersprüche und dergleichen werden sehr oft in ihren Krankheiten verwendet.²²

This last method I have never witnessed.

Snethlage possibly rates Timbira medical lore too highly, but his text does not indicate which tribe he has in mind.²³ Ribeiro says:

Curam geralmente as suas enfermidades com a sangria, e com o semente de urucú: A sangria fazem-a com uma navalha de canna verde a que chamam taboca.

(In general they cure sickness by blood-letting and with urucú seeds. They let blood with a little knife of green cane called taboca.)²⁴

Thus this author does not mention a blood-letting bow, as Snethlage assumes. Of all the Timbira tribes the *Apinayé* is the only one among whom I found this implement.

Medical lore is little developed among the *Canella*. The children rarely wear remedies and amulets attached to necklaces, wrist cords, or girdle cords. Since pretty nearly everyone tries his own luck at doctoring when sick, the medicine-man's role is rather subordinate. There are no pathological theories comparable to those of the *Apinayé*.²⁵ The *Canella* views are vacillating and confused, so that they have more confidence in Neobrazilian treatment than in their own. An enormous number of plant species yield roots, bark, and leaves for medicinal infusions, which are sometimes filtered with a wad of cotton through spirally twisted palm leaflets. During a seventeen-kilometer ride with me, *Kentapí* from the back of a horse pointed out some twenty steppe plants on the way and indicated their medicinal use. With such remedies, so far as I was able to learn, they attempt to cure themselves and others without following any true plan.

The manifold magico-medical application of *urucú* has been noted (p. 52). Another plant employed in this dual role in cases of sickness, particularly in epidemics, is the *sucupira* tree; the strong and odorous oil of the seeds is smelled against all conceivable diseases, especially catarrhs. Threatening epidemics are warded off by smoking oneself with the incense of the burnt green foliage of this tree or by lashing oneself with its twigs. This use rests on no medicinal virtues, but on the magical attributes of the tree, regarded by all Timbira as the symbol of strength and resistance. Another means for acquiring the toughness requisite for long begging journeys under unusual circumstances is to swallow several small grains of rolled quartz about 3 mm. in diameter from the sand of a creek.

Conjunctivitis is treated by washing the eyes with water into which the molten resin of the jutahy tree (*Hymenoclea* sp.) has been allowed to drip. Against muscular and articular pains the Indians apply an epiphyte (*prikanyí*; Neobraz.: *sumaré*) which is steamed in hot ashes. When children at the breast fall ill, both parents drink an infusion from the bark of a steppe bush, *mekake're*. The scraped bark of a small steppe tree called *peké'parkóp* serves as a remedy for scabies, wounds on the ear loop, and head lice. Sometimes powdered charcoal is rubbed into

²² Pohl, *Reise*, 2:197.

²³ Snethlage, *Nordostbras. Ind.*, 185.

²⁴ Ribeiro, *Memoria*, § 16.

²⁵ Nimuendajá, *The Apinayé*, 144 et seq.

757 the body. In order to recover from the exertion of a log race the runners refresh
824 themselves with an infusion of the roots of either the graminaceous *ha'túre* or of another plant called *poyarkwáka*.

● 755 In this empirical application of remedies religion is involved only so far as pro-
[756] longed, but unsuccessful, experimentation is generally followed by a consultation of the spirits either directly or through a medicine-man. If the latter's experience has not yet taught him what medicine the spirits would recommend in a given case, he will seek them out in the woods of a night in order to receive instructions. However, in nearly all cases of grave illness the patient himself attempts to establish contact with the spirits of his ancestors and to learn the proper medicine from them. This procedure, however, involves strict seclusion: the bed is surrounded with mat screens, the patient observes a diet, uses a scratching stick, and abstains from conversation with anyone. Only by following these rules can he hope to see in his dreams the persons he is seeking. He must further preserve complete silence as to his communication with them.

756 The medicine-men may apply methods besides the above-mentioned infusions and
755 charcoal rubbings. I have several times seen Chief *Haktókót*, possibly the most powerful medicine-man of his tribe, sucking disease out of a patient's body; or, more precisely, *heard* him, for his treatment was always shrouded in darkness and became perceptible only through a horrible sipping sound. The doctor never exhibits the extracted object, for it would strike the spectator with blindness. In the *Yawé* myth the hero, after becoming a medicine-man by contact with spirits, kneads out of his brother-in-law's body the head of a *paca* which had entered it because the man had eaten food with blood-stained fingers. Others are said to remove sickness with their hands and to throw it away in the direction of the wind. Blowing on the body also occurs for remedial purposes.

757 The doctor is compensated only for successful treatment.

177 Against the epidemics brought in by the Neobrazilians—smallpox, measles, the gripe—the *Canella* admittedly lack remedies individually applicable. From the Neobrazilians they have adopted smoking the house with a burnt cow horn against epidemics generically. Another loan from this source, against measles, is a decoction of weathered dog excrements to be drunk by the patient, whose treatment is completed with Indian remedies, his body being smeared with the grated leaf-shoots of the *paty palm*, over which they spread the milky juice of a *Sapium* species, finally rubbing in pulverized charcoal.

755 When in dread of an epidemic the entire village is subjected to a collective cure
756 in the plaza. In such circumstances *Haktókót* walked around the assembled throng, smoking from a funnel of *paty-palm* leaflets and waving away the disease with his hands. When the smallpox broke out in 1935, the people made a fire in the plaza, threw quantities of green *sucupira* twigs into it, and exposed themselves to the dense, white smoke. Then the medicine-man, holding a bunch of twigs of this tree, spread his legs wide apart, whereupon all the villagers, male and female, irrespective of age, had to crawl on all fours between his legs, receiving a few lashes on their backs with the twigs.

Another means of arresting the epidemic is to set up a staff from the rib of a *bacaba palm* leaf on the road by which the disease is expected to approach the village. A few words may be injected on the supposed killing of old and sick people. 888 *Canella* tradition does not mention the custom. In myth, *Yawé* when hopelessly sick is abandoned by his tribe when it shifts its settlement, but is provided with water and food, and after a while the people call in order to look after him. Accord-

888 ing to Ribeiro^m the starving Ramkô'kamekra, succumbing to the smallpox and pursued by Neobrazilians, killed their sick:

Qualquer doe que enfermava durante suas marchas, deitava-se no chão pondo por cabeça uma pedra, e punham-lhe então os amigos e parentes outra grande pedra na cabeça com a qual lh'a esmagavam, e o deixavam alli descansando e livre das suas dores: este fim teve o maior Tempé com todos os outros gentios seus mais notáveis colegas.

[734] (Whoever fell sick on their marches lay down on the ground with a rock for a headrest, then his friends or relatives took another large rock with which they smashed his head, letting him rest there free from his pains. This was the end of Chief Tempé [error? cf. p. 32 f.] and all the other Indians who were his foremost companions.)

However, this took place in a situation more desperate than any known to the tribe before or after, hence does not prove the customary killing of the sick. Another case cited by Ribeiro^m relates to the Gamella of Vianna, hence is irrelevant.

888 Snethlage quotes a tale heard "von einem durchaus zuverlässigen Farmbesitzer" to the effect that one day a Ramkô'kamekra left his work to go home and kill his father, who was too weak to remain alive. The story seems hardly credible; even 114 "the intention was a reality, the Indian is not likely to have ostentatiously informed his Neobrazilian employer of it."

SNAKE SHAMANS

● 755 Kwujkô', a man of about forty-five, has the reputation of having special relations with snakes, communicating with them clandestinely, and owning remedies against snake bites. He is generally regarded with fear and mistrust. People may not seek his friendship, but at least they try not to incur his enmity; the majority, I believe, would be afraid to deny him a request lest he take it in ill part and send a poisonous snake to meet them. Kwujkô' rather unscrupulously exploits this attitude, imposing on his tribesmen all sorts of transactions with him that always result to their disadvantage. Though for a long time aware that he neither keeps a promise nor sticks to a bargain, they lack the courage to refuse doing business with him.

123 He applied the same technique to me on learning of my interest in his knowledge, 756 offering me in exchange an object he did not possess, demanding prior payment, which he received, and then regarding the matter as settled. When I demanded the return of the payment, he obeyed without protest, smiling his peculiar sweetish smile. Kentapí, who had urgently tried to dissuade me, was most upset by my procedure: Kwujkô' was sure to take revenge; and when I said that was precisely what I should like to see, she added that if he failed he would take it out on her. Because of his sneaky conduct and unscrupulous mendacity I was unable to learn details as to his intercourse with the venomous snakes.

755 During my stay I saw him professionally active on only three occasions. The first time he called me to witness the act. A fortnight before my arrival a snake had bitten an Indian in the leg. He was seated on a racing log behind the house, with his leg extended. Kwujkô' knelt before him and sucked out of the injured spot, which was still swollen, the "snake poison" still inside. A boy of about ten, the shaman's disciple, was standing beside him. After a while he rose, expectorated the "poison" into his hand, and put it into his pupil's mouth to be swallowed. The boy obviously had a horror of it and after several unsuccessful efforts he pushed the "poison" out of his mouth with his tongue. I forestalled the shaman by immediately removing it from his lips and at once recognised it as a bit of pink paper [123] such as I was using to write on.

^m Ribeiro, *Memoria*, § 60.

^m 754: 24.

^m Snethlage, *Nordostbrasil. Ind.*, 186.

755 Besides suction these people know but a single remedy against snake bites. The pulverized charcoal of a horse bean called *kañ'kate* is tied on the sore spot and is drunk in water. The natives themselves have little confidence in this procedure. When Kentapi had been bitten by a snake and was bleeding from the mucous membrane, she asked me for some petroleum, which she drank according to Neobrazilian usage in such cases.

756 On one occasion I saw Kwujkō' safeguarding the whole population against snake bites. All of them were assembled in the plaza in two parallel, facing lines extending north and south. The shaman walked behind the lines from one person to another; he had two little leather straps and for the space of a moment put one around an ankle of each person in turn. Like other medicine-men who undertake collective treatments of this order, he did not receive any remuneration. Subsequently, I had no difficulty in obtaining the straps in exchange.

756 The third time I observed him doctoring a woman suffering from violent toothache. He lanced the swollen gum with a snake tooth neatly and firmly mounted on a rod the length of a span; this implement, too, I was able to get by barter.

756 The pupil whom Kwujkō' intended to train showed no inclination for the shaman's profession, hence was allowed to go. Haktókót also had a disciple, about thirteen years old when I first saw him in action. Even then his master allowed him to execute a collective cure against a menacing epidemic. All the villagers were standing crowded together in the plaza, while the boy ran round them, waving a *sueupira* twig. Haktókót told me a pupil had to abstain from meat pies and any other form of meat for at least a month; he must refrain from sex relations and daily rub his body with the small pieces of a yellow root in order to be visited by the spirits, who at last would appear to him in a dream. After announcing this result in the plaza he would be acknowledged as a shaman.

755 Compared to the training imposed in other tribes, the course of a Canella pupil is rather easy and simple. Again and again one is impressed with the slight interest in supernaturalism manifested by these Indians. This was also illustrated during the Guajajara visit. Among these Tupí neighbors conditions are quite different; their shamans, who operate with tobacco narcosis, temporary departure of the soul from a living body, possession by animal spirits, etc., attempted to impress their hosts with an exhibition of their powers. One of them appeared with two assistants, smoked and rattled convulsively, then blew thick clouds of tobacco smoke into the assistants' open mouths. They fell as though dead, and he resuscitated them. The hosts, however, never dreamt of taking all this seriously; they merely took great pains to learn Guajajara melodies for subsequent use as dance songs, but otherwise the performance meant mere fun for them.

SORCERY

754 Sometimes the spirits give a shaman a disease substance "to be reared" by him. It is said somewhat to resemble rosin. The medicine-man can then use it to afflict personal enemies by blowing it in the desired direction through the hollow of his hand or by furtively interring it before the victim's door or in the plaza. The person bewitched will then die from some unascertainable disease. According to the mode of application such magic may affect single individuals or the entire village.

754 On the other hand, clippings of hair or other parts severed from the body are never used in sorcery.

682 As soon as a person is seriously suspected of having compassed another's death by sorcery (*hũñ*), his life is forfeited among all the Timbira, the council decrees-